

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED WEEKLY BY THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Indian Affairs.

From the N. Y. Independent. What we hear from the Indian Commissioners does not afford ground of hope for a speedy or satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties in that quarter. This discouragement is not due to any niggardliness, severity, disingenuousness, or cruelty on the part of the Government; nor to any silliness, stupidity, beastliness, or jealousy on the part of the Indians. The Commissioners go from tribe to tribe, with their message of peace and good-will, unmolested, respected. They make very handsome speeches; they are profuse and apparently sincere in promises. If the Indians will only be quiet; will move away to new lands, where they need not fear the white men nor the white men them; if they will pursue agriculture and the arts of peace; will plant and reap, and generally cultivate the tranquil life, they shall have whatever they want—needs, utensils, farming implements, civilized clothing, and apparatus for domestic life. The Government will be their friend. The Indians, after due silence and smoking, profess the most amiable sentiments. They are not noisy, or turbulent, or querulous. They will go and look at the new reservations; they will try on the civilized coats and hats; they will be very glad to receive the ploughs and the shovels; they will do their best at tilling the ground. They honor their grandfather, and especially General Harney, who had beaten them and taught them manners. Both sides are unacceptably civil; but nothing comes of it, and nothing is likely to come of it. It is not in the nature of things, perhaps, that anything should come of it. A far better administration of public affairs in the West than we ever have had would probably fall to work out such a solution of the troublesome problem as will satisfy a civilized, much less Christian people. The truth, as we gather it, seems to be that the Indians have more cause to dread peace than war. For peace to them means banishment from their homes and favorite hunting grounds, and settlement on other lands, possibly as good, but in all probability worse, in their estimate. It means adoption of a strange and uncongenial kind of life—uninteresting, dull, and deadening; it means steady labor and thrift, the use of unaccustomed implements, and the practice of unwanted manners. It means, besides all this, exposure to the same rapacity that has pursued and plundered them hitherto; it means knavery of every description, injury, contempt; it means the non-arrival of funds appropriated for their benefit by the Government; the mysterious sinking of vessels that bring them supplies, and the consequent withholding of the goods as "damaged"; it means barter, in which they always come off second best, and oppression by lawless men, who will cast on the Indians the blame of their own violence, and then call in the aid of Government to punish the savages for defending themselves against their outrages. These are evils of which the Indians have had long and dire experience, and under which they have been maddened past bearing.

under law; but it may be questioned whether much of their counsel is comprehended by their hearers. This presentation of the case is discouraging. But there is no encouraging view of the case presentable. The at nial authorities wish for peace sincerely. General Sherman and his officers desire peace. What glory is to be gained by such a war? But the incessant restlessness will cause incessant fighting till the railroad is built. Then the steady flow of travel, the march of traffic, the sowing of stations pregnant with towns along the line, will decide the question against the Indian, who will disappear with his buffaloes. No "policy" is likely to be successful with the savages. Policy has no chance to bear on those scattered tribes. We must all be to a great extent still at the mercy of circumstances, accepting peace or war as they shall dictate; peace when we can, war when we must. We can, however, do something, and we seem to be fairly in the way of doing something, to mitigate the force of circumstances where they threaten to be most cruel, so that pacific measures may preponderate. There is good promise that henceforth the Government will, to the full extent of its power, secure honest dealing on the part of its agents; will see that its contracts are faithfully performed; and will make allowance for the peculiar sufferings of a miserable decaying race. That will be much. It will reach such gentle dispositions as the Indians cherish, and effect what saving of life it can.

There is also a good promise that the commanders of troops despatched to quell the rioting savages will be not mere adventurers, but able men, who will do war's work in a way to make the Indians respect as well as fear them. More than this we can scarcely hope for now. But this will finish the task as mercifully as such dreadful task can be done. They who yield to the Government persuasions will die ere long from social decay. They who try issues with men like Custer and Sherman will perish more quickly by the bullet. Between the two weapons—good will and ill will—they will soon be wasted away from the continent.

Ovations to Grant and Sheridan—Grant and Sheridan for the Future.

From the N. Y. Herald. General Sheridan, on his way from Louisiana to Washington, was the subject of a splendid demonstration at every important point on the route; and now again on his way to the West he is receiving in all our great cities ovations of the most brilliant, positive, flattering, and incomprehensible character. In all affairs of this kind, of course the prime movers are the political hucksters—the keen fellows who gather around rising men in the hope that they will be remembered by-and-by when offices are to be given out. But in this case the politicians have been crowded out of sight by the masses thronging to do honor to a man who has done the State substantial service; and the mean voices of those who bid for office are lost in the grand roar of enthusiasm, paying the people's tribute of admiration to one justly accepted as a type of all that is noble, gallant, and pure in a patriotic soldier. Sheridan's public services are such as to give him a full claim to the nation's warmest gratitude. He has served with a bold heart and ready hand, with clear eye and upright soul, in fields where death was everywhere, and in fields that might have had still greater terrors to one less ready to repeat the course of Alexander in disposing of the Gordian knot of political difficulties. It is a pleasant sight, therefore, to see the people so broadly and warmly acknowledging the nation's debt to her heroic son.

their abilities to some purpose and are a necessary part of the nation's future. It is useless to muddle over the special phases of present party strife. One broad fact only is distinct and beyond doubt; it is that a reaction against the Republican party is felt throughout the land, because that party has abused its power. But aside from the emphasis they give to this reaction, the elections now forthcoming mean but little, and it is of comparative small moment which way they go, either in this State or Pennsylvania. What Republicans lose Copperheads expect to gain, and that is all there is of the result to the people. But the reaction against the Republicans is begun, and it is for the people, by their own movement and utterances, to strengthen that, to give it the depth and force and impulse that will carry all before it. To do this with effect, the people, so soon as these fall elections are over, must organize the grand campaign of the next Presidency with Grant and Sheridan—the chosen dials and practical statesmen, types of the best qualities of a great people. This is the way that the people must determine the future of the nation. These elections will determine nothing, though they may exhibit still more clearly the tendency already indicated elsewhere; but by rallying a grand constitutional party around the two great soldiers—the peculiar saviors of a miserable decaying race. That will be much. It will reach such gentle dispositions as the Indians cherish, and effect what saving of life it can.

Something to be Afraid Of.

From the N. Y. Times. It is not for a moment to be supposed that the Washington politicians and Wall street speculators who have been thrown into such a terrible panic by the reports about the Maryland militia, have any political or pecuniary ends to subserv by circulating the news that they concoct. We, ourselves, would not underrate the ominous nature of the news, nor would we say that it does not furnish an excellent reason why gold should go to 150 and the Republican candidates be elected. If we were "long" in gold, or if we were a candidate for the popular vote, we might perhaps think the "Maryland militia" a very nice instrument to give our interests a hoist; and as we heard of their procuring grey uniforms, purchasing brass cannon, and indulging in all sorts of warlike antics, we should feel assured, quite assured, that the credit of the nation, as well as the existence of the Government, was imperilled; and we should rush to the gold room and buy a million or more at current rates, while at the same time we sent the prospective profits to all in the election of Ben Wade.

For consider what may happen from the Maryland Governor organizing these hosts of untamed militia. If he has put six hundred regiments (or even if he put six regiments) of them in the field—that is to say, has inscribed their names on foot-camp; and if he has purchased for them an entire half-dozen brass Napoleon 6-pounder guns, and if they have clothed themselves in Confederate grey, and if they have sworn an oath that they will do nothing on any field where they may be mustered—then who can deny that there is good ground for the fear that Governor Swann may order them to march upon Washington, garrote Congress, and proclaim Johnson? How can it be positively known that such a formidable array of militia will not make short work with a few hundred members of Congress and bid defiance even to the million veteran soldiers whom General Grant recently commanded? There is assuredly no telling what may take place if Wendell Phillips and the Tribune, and Charles Sumner and the Chronicle, and other sentinels on the watch-towers of freedom, fall for a moment to keep an eye on these sanguinary grey coats, and utter their warnings to an imperilled country. We do not wonder that General Grant (or rather, we should say, General Butler) considers that the whole thing has an "unhappy look," and solemnly thinks the loyal Governors should take immediate measures to thwart the first efforts of a body of militia whose prospective doings are enough to terrify even military souls. We think really that, considering the circumstances of the case—the perils to Washington, the perils to Congress, the perils to the eagle, the flag, and the Union—that the least any man can think of doing, is to take the six brass guns from these six militia regiments, and send the entire force to the Dry Tortugas, with General Butler to govern them. Not till this is done will the peace of the country be beyond disturbance.

The Defense of Mexico.

From the N. Y. Tribune. It is unfortunate for Mexico that she needs defense, it is well that she has Senor Romero for a defender. That gentleman in his speech almost disarms criticism by the frankness and force of his argument, and the sincerity of his friendship for the United States. In the eight years during which he has represented his Government at Washington, Senor Romero has had ample assurance of the good-will of our people to the Mexican Republic; he has been enabled to inform his countrymen that, as we were ourselves resolved not to interfere with Mexican affairs, so we were resolved that other nations shall not interfere. In the letters read at the banquet, General Grant intimates, and Senator Cameron expressly declares, that if the Mexican victory had been much longer delayed, our armies would have helped to win it. Senor Romero knows what the effect of such intervention would have been, and may judge if it is merely a diplomatic boast that he would have helped Mexico, made after help ceased to be desired. He has freely admitted that our sympathy with the republic contributed, in a great measure, to its triumph. When he returns to Mexico he may safely tell his countrymen that the United States would not permit a second invasion; that we rejoice in their independence; and that all our sympathies are with their efforts to establish prosperity and peace and freedom. He may tell them that among all the nations of the earth Mexico has no friend more true, more strong, than the United States, and none that is ready to go as far to make its friendship effective. But there is one thing which he cannot tell them. He cannot say that the sober verdict of our people sustains the execution of Maximilian.

We do not desire to reopen the argument upon that question. Senor Romero has reviewed in his speech the usurpation of Maximilian, and without the slightest trace of ill-temper has shown its wantonness and wickedness. We are willing to admit all that may be said upon that subject, but it must be observed that Senor Romero himself admits that Maximilian was not the author, but was only

the instrument of the crime. The official representative of Mexico declares that Maximilian was on the point of leaving Mexico forever; that he remained there for the avowed purpose of placing the failure of the invasion upon the French Government; that it was his intention to have tested the pretenses of his friends that the majority of the Mexicans desired him to remain, by submitting to the vote of the people the question of a republic or an empire. If these are facts, as the Mexican Minister affirms them to be, then Maximilian was indeed more weak than wicked. He was what Senor Romero pronounces him—an automaton. He was equally with Mexico the victim of the ambition of Napoleon. But do the Mexican people pride themselves upon destroying automatons because they cannot reach the power that moves? Did they shoot the duke Maximilian to revenge themselves on his betrayer? We cannot see the courage of this act, and certainly perceive its want of magnanimity. And we absolutely deny that the safety of Mexico required such a sacrifice. The French had retired in disgrace; the invaders were everywhere defeated; Mexico had sufficient guarantees that the United States would make another intervention impossible. It was in the moment of her perfect victory, with the national honor vindicated, her independence established, and the future doubly secured against European interference, that she revenged the wrongs she had endured—not upon the hand that dealt them, but upon the tool it used. Senor Romero has eloquently described the incapacity of Maximilian to comprehend the situation, and his utter helplessness long before his capture, and the demonstration of the strength of Mexico is anything but a justification of its policy. Had the nation been weak, it might perhaps have executed this poor prisoner as a menace; had it held its real enemy in its power it might justly have punished him; but it was strong enough to be humane, and should have been too proud to put an automaton to death as a satisfaction to its wounded honor.

The abstract right which the Mexican republic undoubtedly possessed to shoot Maximilian must not be confounded with the wisdom or necessity of asserting it. Governments have the legal power to do many things which civilized nations condemn. The execution of captives is among them; and while we give respectful consideration to the plea which Senor Romero has made, we cannot think that the judgment of the nineteenth century will accept it. In shooting Maximilian Mexico opposed herself to the spirit of modern civilization. The Filian kings, when they build a palace, slay a certain number of their subjects, and bury them in the foundations, that the palace may stand forever. But the republic of Mexico did not need a corpse for its cornerstone, or the sacrifice of blood to make holy its portals. The act, however, is not to be revoked, and it would be wise not to attempt its defense. We prefer to turn from the past to the future, and to look with hope to the enlightened and liberal policy to which Senor Romero last night pledged his people. Had that policy been firmly established ten years ago, no foreign power would have dared to invade Mexico, nor would she need the apology which her statesmen offer in vain. We ask no more than to forget her mistake in her glory. There is no American patriotism which is not also sympathy with our sister republic. The Mexican people have proved their greatness and their power, and we believe, with their distinguished Minister, that they will equally prove their capacity for self-government and progress. No people has been more bitterly slandered, and none has been more completely justified in its valor and its intelligence.

Italy.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The Italian people continue to protest against the arrest of their greatest and noblest man at the request of a foreign monarch. The outbreaks at Naples, Genoa, and Milan have been followed by one at Viterbo, which, it appears, has been more serious than any of the former ones. The idea of being the enslaved tools of France begins to fill the people with an indignation which alarms the Government. The report that Cialdini is to follow Rattazzi as Prime Minister still needs confirmation; if true, it would either indicate that the Government wishes to disown the sentiments of Rattazzi, or make special military preparations for meeting outbreaks. Cialdini is not known to have very decided views as a politician. In Parliament he has been a general supporter of the Ministerial policy.

A singular declaration is made by a semi-official paper of the Government, the *Opinione* of Florence. It says that Rome will soon long to Italy, and that without a violation of treaty. The object of this semi-official statement is obvious; it is to tranquilize the national party by giving a new pledge that the Government notwithstanding the arrest of Garibaldi, does not abandon the design of securing the annexation of Rome. The Government is perhaps begging at Paris or Rome for some concessions, for appearance sake, to the popular sentiment; but we regard it as highly improbable that a real annexation of the Eternal City has been resolved upon.

The excitement which prevails throughout Italy with regard to the recent events naturally gives rise to the wildest rumors. Thus it was reported last night that there had been an insurrection in Rome, and that the Pope had fled to Civita Vecchia, a city situated on the coast. The news is probably incorrect, and, at all events, needs confirmation. It is, however, highly probable that, sooner or later, an insurrectionary attempt will be made in Rome, as all the preparations had been made by Garibaldi.

Simon P. Chase as a "Great Financier" and a Candidate for President.

From the N. Y. World. General Butler has written another astute incisive letter in support of his project for paying off the public debt in legal tender greenbacks. He addresses himself this time to the Tribune, in reply to some sharp denunciations of his plan by that journal. The Tribune furnishes a rejoinder, which occupies more space than the letter; but it shies Butler's points and runs into vague moral considerations. It is no adequate reply to General Butler's reasoning, to tell him he "seems deficient in moral sensibility." Such an imputation may be true enough in point of fact; but if the devil himself should make an able argument to prove that the debt is not due in coin, he would be unfairly dealt by if his antagonist, instead of meeting and exploding his reasoning, should hint that he was a great rascal. The Tribune shirks General Butler's main position—that the Government has never contracted to pay the principal of the five-twenty in coin, and contends that the Government is morally bound to do better by its creditors, than it promised that it must pay "wheat." Now it seems to us that the hinge of the controversy is exactly where Butler locates it—namely, in the ques-

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tion whether the Government did, or did not, engage to pay the principal in coin. We have already given our views on this point, and will not repeat them now. There is only one new point in Butler's last letter, and that we will try to dispose of at the end of this article. Our purpose is not to confute Butler anew, but to expose Chase. Butler's letter to the Tribune does not demonstrate his main position, but it does demonstrate that the financial policy of Mr. Chase was a muddle and a bungle; demonstrates that his policy was so vacillating, inconsistent, and self-contradictory, that amid the confusing cross-lights the rights of the public creditors and the obligations of the Government are open to endless questionings, and liable to be tossed hither and thither on a fluctuating sea of uncertainties. The editor of the Tribune stands foremost among Mr. Chase's admirers and eulogists; there are no evasive feebleness of his rejoinder to Butler corroborates the conclusion that Mr. Chase was a financial charlatan. It is susceptible of historical proof that the contradictory loan laws were drafted by the then Secretary of the Treasury. We know this fact from the most authentic source; it was publicly stated by Mr. Hooper, the organ of the Committee of Ways and Means, in the House of Representatives. General Butler is enabled to make out a plausible case, because the various laws are a clashing set of inconsistent enactments, instead of a harmonious system. It is quite true, as General Butler states, that the greenbacks are a tender for everything except Government interest and duties on imports. The language inscribed on every greenback means nothing, or it means that the greenbacks must be accepted in payment of the public debt. It is true that there are other enactments inconsistent with this; it is true that Mr. Chase made promises and held out inducements of quite a contrary tenor; but it is a farrago of jostling enactments and promises such a financial policy as the country had a right to expect from an able minister of finance? The fact that he left the door open for such unsettling controversies as have arisen; that he furnished materials for such specious arguments as those advanced by General Butler, must cause his lauded ability as a financier to pass into a total eclipse. How easy it would have been, by a little consideration and foresight, to avoid discussions which tend to shake the public credit to its foundation! How easy it would have been to furnish argument to the Tribune which would have tripped up Butler's heels by a single touch of its toe! A single additional word inscribed on the greenbacks, the two little words "in coin" transplanted from the ten-forty to the five-twenty loan bill, would have left Butler and those who think with him without a shred of plausible argument. If General Butler's doctrine is as pernicious as the Tribune declares it to be, why was there not foreseen enough to shut the door against it? The Tribune says:— "If ever an American would say 'We will pay our public debt in legal tender,' he would find our debt at 4 per cent. As it is, we shall long pay fifty millions per annum in extra interest because of the threat and dread of virtual repudiation. And that fifty millions would pay our entire debt in less than forty years. We are for reducing both principal and interest so fast as can honestly be done, and we object to all devices that favor of repudiation that preclude this most desired consummation."

It is but a day or two since the Tribune praised Mr. Chase as our most accomplished financier since Hamilton. But how could so great a genius for finance have left open this yawning gap through which, by the Tribune's own showing, there flows annually fifty millions of wasted treasure, when the insertion of two short words in the statutes drawn by this same financier would have shut up this rent sluice-way forever? Why were the words "in coin" in the ten-forty bill, and not in the five-twenty bill? What could Butler say for himself, if those words had been inserted instead of being omitted? Their omission, which can be proved to have been by design, and the making of the greenbacks a tender for everything except customs duties and Government interest, enable Butler to make out a case so plausible that his views will find a wide acceptance as soon as a considerable contraction of the currency causes the pressure of taxes to be more severely felt. It is for the admirers of Mr. Chase to explain why he left the public credit exposed to such specious and damaging attacks. If he meant to pay the five-twenties in coin, why did he not draw the statute as to leave the point free from doubt? The Tribune would not then be driven to "Paley's Moral Philosophy" for arguments to supply the acknowledged silence of the law on a point deemed vital to the public credit. It is Mr. Chase, not General Butler, that is shaking public confidence; for General Butler is merely exposing Mr. Chase's financial disarrangements. His "system" is a chaos of contradictions, of which it is as easy to prove one thing as another, according as attention is drawn to one or another of its slashing parts. We could point out other inconsistencies equally gross; but those now exposed will suffice for the present. If Mr. Chase is run for President, we can promise that his financial renown will be pretty thoroughly riddled. It remains to redeem our promise of meeting General Butler's single new point. He states it with specious ingenuity as follows:— "If the United States should now choose to exercise its right to pay them (when would seem to be wise, as they are unpayable, so that their interest is in fact from our side, and their principal, higher than six per cent to the holder), in that case, why should the Government be called upon to pay in gold or its equivalent in currency, say 145, when anybody else can buy them at 115?" "Why should the tax-payer be called upon to pay the holders from 30 to 40 per cent more, in order to redeem these bonds, than, as they now have the right to do, the capitalists is now willing to sell them for to anybody else?" "This is artful, but it lacks substance. Its fallacy consists in confounding two operations entirely distinct in their nature. There can be no objection, on the score of national honor, to the Government buying its bonds in the market, at the market price, like other purchasers. This would tend to enhance, not to depreciate their value; inasmuch as it would widen the market and increase the demand.

But paying the bonds is quite a different operation. The purchase alluded to can just as well be made before the expiration of the five years as after. General Butler certainly means something different from this, for his whole reasoning goes on the payability of the bonds at the option of the Government, after the five years are up. He means, then (or he talks nonsense), that they are to be paid in some way not permissible before the expiration of the five years, but permissible afterwards. This of course excludes purchase and includes payment, properly so called. In the first case, the holder sells, or not, as he pleases; his decision depending on a balance of advantages between keeping his bonds till maturity and drawing the interest, or taking such a present price as the Government is willing to offer. In the latter case, he has no option at all. The Government gives notice that, on a certain date, the bonds will be redeemed, and the interest stopped. If he does not accept the proffered payment, they become dead, unproductive property. It is this latter case that General Butler is called to meet, but he dexterously evades it by insisting on the defensibility of the first. It is a false analogy, totally irrelevant (as we hope we have convinced the reader) to the point in discussion.

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